

SATIRE 11

Atticus eximie si cenat, lautus habetur,
si Rutilus, demens. quid enim maiore cachinno
excipitur uolgi quam pauper Apicius? omnis
conuictus, thermae, stationes, omne theatrum
de Rutilo. nam dum ualida ac iuuenalia membra
sufficiunt galeae dumque ardent sanguine, fertur
non cogente quidem sed nec prohibente tribuno
scripturus leges et regia uerba lanistae.
multos porro uides, quos saepe elusus ad ipsum
creditor introitum solet expectare macelli,
et quibus in solo uiuendi causa palato est.
egregius cenat meliusque miserrimus horum
et cito casurus iam perlucente ruina.
interea gustus elementa per omnia quaerunt
numquam animo pretiis obstantibus; interius si
attendas, magis illa iuuant quae pluris ementur.
ergo haut difficile est perituram arcessere summam
lancibus oppositis uel matris imagine fracta,
et quadringentis nummis condire gulosum
fictile; sic ueniunt ad miscellanea ludi.
refert ergo quis haec eadem paret; in Rutilo nam
luxuria est, in Ventidio laudabile nomen
sumptus et a censu famam trahit. illum ego iure
despiciam, qui scit quanto sublimior Atlas
omnibus in Libya sit montibus, hic tamen idem
ignorat quantum ferrata distet ab arca
sacculus. e caelo descendit γῶθι σεαυτόν
figendum et memori tractandum pectore, siue
coniugium quaeras uel sacri in parte senatus
esse uelis; neque enim lorica poscit Achilles
Thersites, in qua se traducebat Vlixes;
ancipitem seu tu magno discrimine causam

¹⁶ ementur *P*: emuntur *φ*.

²³ sumptus *Heinrich*: sumit *mss*

SATIRE 11

Atticus eximie si cenat, lautus habetur,
si Rutilus, demens. quid enim maiore cachinno
excipitur uolgi quam pauper Apicius? omnis
conuictus, thermae, stationes, omne theatrum
de Rutilo. nam dum ualida ac iuuenalia membra
sufficiunt galeae dumque ardent sanguine, fertur
non cogente quidem sed nec prohibente tribuno
scripturus leges et regia uerba lanistae.
multos porro uides, quos saepe elusus ad ipsum
creditor introitum solet expectare macelli,
et quibus in solo uiuendi causa palato est.
egregius cenat meliusque miserrimus horum
et cito casurus iam perlucente ruina.
interea gustus elementa per omnia quaerunt
numquam animo pretiis obstantibus; interius si
attendas, magis illa iuuant quae pluris ementur.
ergo haut difficile est perituram arcessere summam
lancibus oppositis uel matris imagine fracta,
et quadringentis nummis condire gulosum
fictile; sic ueniunt ad miscellanea ludi.
refert ergo quis haec eadem paret; in Rutilo nam
luxuria est, in Ventidio laudabile nomen
sumptus et a censu famam trahit. illum ego iure
despiciam, qui scit quanto sublimior Atlas
omnibus in Libya sit montibus, hic tamen idem
ignorat quantum ferrata distet ab arca
sacculus. e caelo descendit γῶθι σεαυτόν
figendum et memori tractandum pectore, siue
coniugium quaeras uel sacri in parte senatus
esse uelis; neque enim lorica poscit Achilles
Thersites, in qua se traducebat Vlixes;
ancipitem seu tu magno discrimine causam

¹⁶ ementur *P*: emuntur *φ*.

²³ sumptus *Heinrich*: sumit *mss*

SATIRE 11

If Atticus dines luxuriously, he is considered posh: if Rutilus does so he is considered mad. For what is heard about with greater laughter among the mob than an Apicius with no money? Every party, every bath-house, every arcade and every theatre talks (5) about Rutilus. For while his strong and youthful limbs are up to the standard of the soldier's helmet and are ablaze with blood, it is said that he – without being compelled or refused by the tribune – is going to sign up to the rules and the royal terms of the gladiator-trainer. You see many men like him; they have often given a creditor the slip but he usually waits at the very entrance of the market (10) for these men, whose reason for living lies solely in their palate.

The most wretched of these, the one who is quickly going to fall as the ruins of his life are already letting the light in – he dines more finely and better than the rest. In the meantime they go looking for exotic tastes through all the elements, and the prices are never an obstacle to their passion. If you enquire (15) more closely, those things which will cost him more money are actually more pleasing to him. It is not in fact hard to raise a sum which will soon run out by pawning the dishes or smashing up the bust of mother, nor is it hard to add flavour to the tasty earthenware dish with an outlay of 400 in cash. That is how they come to the stew of the gladiator-school.(20)

Much depends, then, on who is buying these same dishes: if it is Rutilus, it is extravagance, but in the case of Ventidius his free-spending earns him a praiseworthy reputation and celebrity from his wealth. I would quite rightly despise the man who knows by how much Atlas is higher than all the mountains in Libya, but who also (25) has no idea how different a purse is from a strong-box sealed with iron.

‘Know yourself’ comes down from heaven and should be stuck and worked on in a heart which does not forget it – whether it is marriage you are seeking or whether you would like to have a place in the sacred senate. Thersites does not demand Achilles’ breastplate (30) – the one in which Ulysses showed himself up. If you aspire to defend a dubious case of

protegere adfectas, te consule, dic tibi qui sis,
 orator uehemens an Curtius et Matho buccae.
 noscenda est mensura sui spectandaque rebus 35
 in summis minimisque, etiam cum piscis emetur,
 ne mullum cupias, cum sit tibi gobio tantum
 in oculis. quis enim te deficiente crumina
 et crescente gula manet exitus, aere paterno
 ac rebus mersis in uentrem fenoris atque 40
 argenti grauis et pecorum agrorumque capacem?
 talibus a dominis post cuncta nouissimus exit
 anulus, et digito mendicat Pollio nudo.
 non praematuri cineres nec funus acerbum
 luxuriae sed morte magis metuenda senectus. 45
 hi plerumque gradus: conducta pecunia Romae
 et coram dominis consumitur; inde, ubi paulum
 nescio quid superest et pallet fenoris auctor,
 qui uertere solum, Baias et ad ostrea currunt.
 cedere namque foro iam non est deterius quam 50
 Esquilias a feruenti migrare Subura.
 ille dolor solus patriam fugientibus, illa
 maestitia est, caruisse anno circensibus uno.
 sanguinis in facie non haeret gutta, morantur
 pauci ridiculum et fugientem ex urbe pudorem. 55
 experiere hodie numquid pulcherrima dictu,
 Persice, non praestem tibi uita et moribus et re,
 si laudem siliquas occultus ganeo, pultes
 coram aliis dictem puero sed in aure placentas.
 nam cum sis conuiua mihi promissus, habebis 60
 Euandrum, uenies Tirynthius aut minor illo
 hospes, et ipse tamen contingens sanguine caelum
 alter aquis, alter flammis ad sidera missus.
 fercula nunc audi nullis ornata macellis.
 de Tibertino ueniet pinguissimus agro 65
 haedulus et toto grege mollior, inscius herbae
 necdum ausus uirgas humilis mordere salicti,

⁴⁸⁻⁴⁹ et pallet ... solum *deleuit Nisbet*

⁵⁷ tibi uita *Nisbet*: uita *mss.*

⁶³ *deleuit Heinrich*

massive importance, ask yourself and tell yourself who you are – a powerful orator or else a bigmouth like Curtius and Matho. You should get to know the measure of yourself and keep it in view in matters (35) great and small, even in the matter of buying fish. Don't long for mullet if you only have goby in your moneybox. For what fate awaits you as your wallet shrinks but your gullet grows, with your father's money and property sunk into your belly – a belly which (40) can hold investments, heavy silver, herds, estates?

The last thing to leave masters like this, after everything else, is the little ring. Pollio goes begging with his finger bare. It is not early death or bitter fate which the big-spenders should fear: old age is more to be dreaded than death. (45) These are usually the stages: money is borrowed in Rome and then spent right in front of the lenders; then, when just a small amount is left over, and the giver of the cash is pale with fear, they disappear into exile and run off to Baiae and its oysters. Going bankrupt is now no worse than (50) moving house from the boiling Subura to the Esquiline Hill. The only suffering for those who run from their fatherland, their one grief, is to miss the circus games for one year. Not a drop of blood stays in their faces; people just laugh at modesty, and few of them ask her to stay as she runs out of the city.(55)

You will find out today whether or not I put into practice, Persicus, these lovely sentiments, in my way of life and behaviour; if I praise beans while being a closet glutton, if I call on the slave for porridge when others are present but whisper 'pastries' in his ear. For since you are booked to come as my guest, you will have (60) me as your Evander, you will come as the hero of Tiryns or that guest who was smaller than him, though he too touches the heavens with his bloodline, one with water, the other sent to the stars with fire.

Now hear the dishes, undecorated by any market-produce. From the Tiburtine estate will (65) come a little kid, the fattest there is and softer than all the rest of the herd; he has no knowledge of grass and has not yet dared to chew the twigs of the low-growing willow; he has more milk than blood

qui plus lactis habet quam sanguinis, et montani
 asparagi, posito quos legit ulica fuso.
 grandia praeterea tortoque calentia feno 70
 oua adsunt ipsis cum matribus, et seruatae
 parte anni quales fuerant in uitibus uuae,
 Signinum Syriumque pirum, de corbibus isdem
 aemula Picenis et odoris mala recentis
 nec metuenda tibi, siccatum frigore postquam 75
 autumnum et crudi posuere pericula suci.
 haec olim nostri iam luxuriosa senatus
 cena fuit. Curius paruo quae legerat horto
 ipse focus breuibus ponebat holuscula, quae nunc
 squalidus in magna fastidit conpede fossor, 80
 qui meminit calidae sapiat quid uolua popinae.
 sicci terga suis rara pendentia crate
 moris erat quondam festis seruare diebus
 et natalicium cognatis ponere lardum
 accedente noua, si quam dabat hostia, carne. 85
 cognatorum aliquis titulo ter consulis atque
 castrorum imperiis et dictatoris honore
 functus ad has epulas solito maturius ibat
 erectum domito referens a monte ligonem.
 cum tremerent autem Fabios durumque Catonem 90
 et Scauros et Fabricium, rigidique seueros
 censoris mores etiam collega timeret,
 nemo inter curas et seria duxit habendum
 qualis in Oceani fluctu testudo nataret,
 clarum Troiugenis factura et nobile fulcrum; 95
 sed nudo latere et paruis frons aerea lectis
 uite coronati caput ostendebat aselli,
 ad quod lasciui ludebant ruris alumni.
 [tales ergo cibi qualis domus atque supellex.]
 tunc rudis et Graias mirari nescius artes 100
 urbibus euersis praedarum in parte reperta
 magnorum artificum frangebat pocula miles,
 ut phaleris gauderet ecus caelataque cassis

⁹⁷ uite *Hennin*: uile *mss*

⁹⁹ *del. Markland et Heinrich*

in him; with that goes mountain asparagus, which the manager's wife has picked when she has put down her spinning-shuttle. What is more, there are large eggs – warm in the curls of hay (70) – along with their mothers, and also grapes preserved for six months just as they had been on the vines; pears from Signium and Syria; and, coming from the same baskets, apples a match for those from Picenum, apples smelling fresh and no cause for apprehension for you, after the autumn has been dried out of them by the cold (75) and they have set aside the risks that go with unripe juice. Once upon a time this would have already been an extravagant dinner for our senate. Curius used to place the vegetables, which he had picked from his tiny smallholding, on his modest hearth himself – but these days a dirty ditch-digger in his massive leg-chain spurns them (80), remembering the flavour of tripe from the hot cookhouse. At one time it was the custom to keep a chine of dried pork hanging from the wide-barred frame and serve it up at festivals; to put out birthday bacon before one's relatives with some fresh meat added if a sacrificial victim offered any (85). One of your relatives – having held the title of consul three times and commanded army-camps and enjoyed the status of dictator – would come to this feast earlier than usual, bringing his spade held upright from the mountain he had subdued.

But in the days when they used to tremble at the Fabii and hard Cato (90) and the Scauri and Fabricius, and even his colleague feared the strict morals of the unbending censor, nobody numbered it among their concerns and thought it a serious matter what sort of tortoise swam in Ocean's flood to make a brilliant and noble headrest for those descended from the Trojans (95): the couches had bare sides, they were small, and their bronze front showed the head of a donkey garlanded with a vine and the frisky country children would play beside it. [Their food was like their house and furniture.] In those days the soldier was rough and did not know how to appreciate Greek art (100); when cities had been overturned he would smash any pots found in his share of the spoils, even if the pots were the work of great artists – to let his horse exult in its trappings and so that the engraved

Romuleae simulacra ferae mansuescere iussae
 imperii fato, geminos sub rupe Quirinos 105
 ac nudam effigiem in clipeo uenientis et hasta
 pendentisque dei perituro ostenderet hosti.
 ponebant igitur Tusco farrata catino:
 argenti quod erat solis fulgebat in armis.
 omnia tunc quibus inuideas, si liuidulus sis. 110
 templorum quoque maiestas praesentior, et uox
 nocte fere media mediamque audita per urbem
 litore ab Oceani Gallis uenientibus et dis
 officium uatis peragentibus. his monuit nos,
 hanc rebus Latiis curam praestare solebat 115
 fictilis et nullo uiolatus Iuppiter auro.
 illa domi natas nostraque ex arbore mensas
 tempora uiderunt; hos lignum stabat ad usus,
 annosam si forte nucem deiecerat eurus.
 at nunc diuitibus cenandi nulla uoluptas, 120
 nil rhombus, nil damma sapit, putere uidentur
 unguenta atque rosae, latos nisi sustinet orbis
 grande ebur et magno sublimis pardus hiatu
 dentibus ex illis quos mittit porta Syenes
 et Mauri celeres et Mauro obscurior Indus, 125
 et quos deposuit Nabataeo belua saltu
 iam nimios capitique graues. hinc surgit orexis,
 hinc stomacho uires; nam pes argenteus illis,
 anulus in digito quod ferreus. ergo superbum
 conuiuiam caueo, qui me sibi comparat et res 130
 despicit exiguas. adeo nulla uncia nobis
 est eboris, nec tessellae nec calculus ex hac
 materia, quin ipsa manubria cultellorum
 ossea. non tamen his ulla umquam obsonia fiunt
 rancidula aut ideo peior gallina secatur. 135
 sed nec structor erit cui cedere debeat omnis
 pergula, discipulus Trypheri doctoris, apud quem
 sumine cum magno lepus atque aper et pygargus
 et Scythicae uolucres et phoenicopterus ingens

¹⁰⁶ in *addidit Valesius*. uenientis *P*: fulgentis *φ*: minitantis *Rupert*: -que nitentis *Merry*

helmet might show images of Romulus' beast – a beast ordered to become tame by the destiny of empire – the twin Quirini under the crag (105), and the naked image of the god pouncing in shield and spear and hanging there – all images to show to a dying enemy. That is why they served their porridge in a Tuscan bowl: because whatever silver they had was gleaming only on their weapons. In those days you might envy all those things, if you were something of the jealous sort (110). The awesome quality of the temples was also more real, and a voice around the middle of the night was heard through the middle of the city when the Gauls were arriving from the shore of Ocean, with the gods playing the role of prophet. This is how Jupiter warned us, this is the concern he used to display for the affairs of Latium (115) when he was made of baked clay and not spoiled with any gold.

Those times saw tables grown at home and made from our own trees. The timber used to be kept standing by for these purposes, if perhaps the East wind had blown down an ancient nut tree. But now there is no pleasure in dining for the rich folk (120); the turbot, the venison have no flavour, the fragrances and the roses seem to be rotten – unless the broad circular tabletop is held up by a massive piece of ivory and a lofty leopard with gaping maw made from tusks which are sent from the gate of Syene and the quick Moors and the Indian (who is darker than the Moor) (125), along with those which the beast has dropped in the Nabataean grove as being too big and heavy for its head. The appetite rises up from this, the power in the stomach from here; for to them a silver table-leg is as bad as the iron ring on the finger. This is why I shun the arrogant dinner-guest who compares me to himself and (130) looks down on my meagre means. I don't have a single ounce of ivory, nor dice nor a counter made from this stuff. Why, even the handles of my knives are made of bone. But this does not make the meals ever turn rotten, and the chicken is carved none the worse for that (135). Nor will I have a carver to whom the entire school has to defer, a pupil of the expert Mr Softy, in whose school – along with massive sow's udder – hare and boar and gazelle and Scythian fowls and the enormous flamingo and

et Gaetulus oryx hebeti lautissima ferro 140
 caeditur et tota sonat ulmea cena Subura.
 nec frustum capreae subducere nec latus Afrae
 nouit auis noster, tirunculus ac rudis omni
 tempore et exiguae furtis inbutus ofellae.
 plebeios calices et paucis assibus emptos 145
 porriget incultus puer atque a frigore tutus,
 non Phryx aut Lycius non a mangone petitus
 quisquam erit et magno: cum posces, posce Latine.
 idem habitus cunctis, tonsi rectique capilli
 atque hodie tantum propter conuiuia pexi. 150
 pastoris duri hic filius, ille bubulci.
 suspirat longo non uisam tempore matrem
 et casulam et notos tristes desiderat haedos
 ingenui uoltus puer ingenuique pudoris,
 qualis esse decet quos ardens purpura uestit, 155
 nec pupillares defert in balnea raucus
 testiculos, nec uellendas iam praebuit alas,
 crassa nec opposito pavidus tegit inguina guto.
 hic tibi uina dabit diffusa in montibus illis
 a quibus ipse uenit, quorum sub uertice lusit. 160
 [namque una atque eadem est uini patria atque ministri.]
 forsitan expectes ut Gaditana canoro
 incipiant prurire choro plausuque probatae
 ad terram tremulo descendant clune puellae,
 (spectant hoc nuptae iuxta recubante marito 165
 quod pudeat narrare aliquem praesentibus ipsis.)
 inritamentum ueneris languentis et acres
 diuitis urticae [maior tamen ista uoluptas
 alterius sexus]; magis ille extenditur, et mox
 auribus atque oculis concepta urina mouetur. 170
 non capit has nugas humilis domus. audiat ille
 testarum crepitus cum uerbis, nudum olido stans

¹⁴⁴ furtis *Φ*: frustis *P*

¹⁴⁸ et *Φ*: in *P*

¹⁶¹ *deleuit Markland*

¹⁶⁸⁻⁶⁹ maior – sexus *del. Jachmann*

¹⁶⁸ diuitis *mss*: ramitis *Housman*

the Gaetulian antelope – really fine foods – are all cut up with a blunt blade (140) and the dinner made of elmwood makes a racket all over the Subura.

Our lad has not learned how to take a scrap of roebuck or a side of guinea fowl; he is a new recruit unskilled on all occasions and only trained in stealing little meatballs. Low-class cups bought for a few pence (145) – these the slave hands round, a boy plainly dressed but wrapped up safe from the cold, not a Phrygian nor Lycian, not acquired from the slave-dealer, whoever he will be, and at great cost. When you ask for something, ask for it in Latin. They all have the same outfit, their hair short and straight, only combed today for the dinner-party (150). This one is the son of a hardy shepherd, that one the son of a cowherd. He sighs for his mother whom he has not seen for a long time and longs sadly for his little cottage and the kids he knows, a boy of honest expression and of freeborn modesty, the sort of character which those clothed in blazing purple ought to have (155). He does not carry his teenage testicles into the baths, his voice unbroken, nor has he yet shown his armpits to be plucked, nor does he fearfully shield his thick cock by holding a wine-flask in front of it. This boy will give you wines bottled in the very same mountains from which he comes, and under whose peak he played (160) [for one and the same is the fatherland of the wine and the servant.]

Perhaps you will be looking out for musical items from Cadiz to start arousing you with a singing dance-troupe, girls welcomed with applause lowering themselves to the floor with quivering buttocks. (Young wives watch this with husband reclining next to them (165) – a thing which is embarrassing for someone even to talk about in their presence.)

This is a thing to excite drooping lust, this is the rich man's sharp nettles; [that pleasure is greater when enjoyed by the other sex:] it is tensed up more and then the juice, brought into being by the sights and sounds, gets moving (170). The lowly house does not contain trivia like this. Let that man listen to the noise of castanets with words which a naked slave standing in a stinking

fornice mancipium quibus abstinet, ille fruatur
uocibus obscenis omnique libidinis arte,
qui Lacedaemonium pytismate lubricat orbem; 175
namque ibi fortunae ueniam damus. alea turpis,
turpe et adulterium mediocribus: haec eadem illi
omnia cum faciunt, hilares nitidique uocantur.
nostra dabunt alios hodie conuiuia ludos:
conditor Iliados cantabitur atque Maronis 180
altisoni dubiam facientia carmina palmam.
quid refert, tales uersus qua uoce legantur?
sed nunc dilatis auerte negotia curis
et gratam requiem dona tibi, quando licebit
per totum cessare diem. non fenoris ulla 185
mentio nec, prima si luce egressa reuer-
ti nocte solet, tacito bilem tibi contrahat uxor
umida suspectis referens multicia rugis
uexatasque comas et uoltum auremque calentem.
protinus ante meum quidquid dolet exue limen, 190
pone domum et seruos et quidquid frangitur illis
aut perit, ingratos ante omnia pone sodalis.
interea Megalesiacae spectacula mappae
Idaeum sollemne colunt, similisque triumpho
praeda caballorum praetor sedet ac, mihi pace 195
immensae nimiaeque licet si dicere plebis,
totam hodie Romam circus capit, et fragor aurem
percutit, euentum uiridis quo colligo panni.
nam si deficeret, maestam attonitamque uideres
hanc urbem ueluti Cannarum in puluere uictis 200
consulibus. spectent iuuenes, quos clamor et audax
sponsio, quos cultae decet adsedis puellae:
nostra bibat uernum contracta cuticula solem
effugiatque togam. iam nunc in balnea salua
fronte licet uadas, quamquam solida hora supersit 205
ad sextam. facere hoc non possis quinque diebus
continuis, quia sunt talis quoque taedia uitae
magna: uoluptates commendat rarior usus.

brothel would abstain from, let him enjoy filthy language and every form of the art of lust – that man who wets his Spartan marble flooring with wine spat out (175): for we make allowances for the rich. Gambling is a disgrace, adultery is a disgrace – for the poor, but when those men do all these same things, they are called ‘cheerful’ and ‘radiant’. Our dinner today will give you different entertainments: the author of the *Iliad* will be sung and the poems of lofty (180) Virgil which make Homer’s victory palm uncertain. What difference does it make, with what sort of voice poetry of this quality is read out?

But now put aside your cares and turn your work to one side and give yourself some welcome peace, since you will be allowed to rest for a whole day. Let there be no talk of interest (185) due nor let your wife, if she has gone out at dawn and tends to come back after dark, sharpen your bile without your saying anything about it, bringing her sexy clothes back damp with suspicious creases in them, her hair in a mess and her face and ears burning.

Anything which hurts you – strip it off right outside my doorway (190). Set aside your house, the slaves and whatever is broken by them or goes missing, and above all set aside ungrateful friends. Meanwhile the spectators of the games are celebrating the Idaean ritual of the Megalesian flag, and the praetor sits there looking like a man celebrating a triumph – the prey of the nags. Besides, if I may (195) so speak of the countless and excessive crowd without offence, the circus is holding the whole of Rome today, and the noise batters my ears. From this I gather that the Green tunic has had a good result. If it were a defeat, you would see this city sad and thunderstruck just as when the consuls were conquered in the dust of Cannae (200). Let the young men watch the games – men who are suited to the shouting and the reckless betting, men who are right to sit beside a chic girl; as for us, let our wrinkled skin drink in the spring sunshine and run a mile from the toga. Now you can with a clear conscience walk into the baths even though there is a solid hour yet (205) before noon. You could not do this five days running, since even a life like this can be mighty boring. Doing something less often makes the pleasure more intense.